

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ACDE-00 ISO-00 AECE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12

H-01 INR-05 IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01

PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

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P R 131340Z DEC 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0780

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0510

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD

DEC 9-12, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. THE DEC 12 PLENARY MEETING AND PRESS CONFERENCES BY EAST AND WEST BROUGHT TO A CLOSE THE FOURTH ROUND OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH ARE DUE TO RESUME IN THE WEEK OF JAN 27. THE EAST TOOK A TOUGH LINE THIS WEEK, IN BOTH THE DEC 10 INFORMAL MEETING AND IN SOVIET REP KHLESTOV'S FINAL PLENARY STATEMENT; ACCUSING THE ALLIES OF A COMPLETE LACK OF FLEXIBILITY WHILE ACCLAIMING THEIR OWN PROPOSALS OF THIS ROUND FOR AN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP AND A MANPOWER FREEZE. BOTH

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IN THE INFORMAL AND PLENARY MEETINGS, ALLIED REPS

REVIEWED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR POSITION IN THIS ROUND, UNDERSCORING THE MAJOR IMPORTANCE OF THEIR AIR NO-INCREASE OFFER. AT THE INFORMAL, THE ALLIES PUT FORWARD NAC GUIDANCE EXPRESSING SKEPTICISM OVER THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, WHILE ADDING THAT THAT PROPOSAL WAS STILL BEING STUDIED AND INVITING CONSIDERED EASTERN REACTIONS TO THE CRITICAL ALLIED REMARKS ON IT. THE AD HOC GROUP DECIDED, AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSION, AGAINST INCLUDING THE NAC GUIDANCE ON THE FREEZE IN THE FINAL PLENARY STATEMENT OR WESTERN PRESS STATEMENT. THE FREEZE ISSUE DID NOT COME UP IN EITHER THE EASTERN OR WESTERN FINAL PRESS CONFERENCES. AT ITS DEC 12 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED AN END-OF-ROUND REPORT TO NAC, WHICH INCLUDED REQUESTS FOR GUIDANCE FOR THE FIFTH ROUND. END SUMMARY.

2. THE EAST CONTINUED THE TOUGHER RHETORICAL LINE OF THE DEC 5 CZECHOSLOVAK PLENARY STATEMENT IN THIS WEEK'S INFORMAL AND PLENARY MEETINGS. AT THE DEC 10 INFORMAL, POLISH REP (STRULAK) LED OFF WITH HARSH CRITICISM OF THE ALLIED POSITION, AS PRESENTED THROUGHOUT THE FIRST NEGOTIATING YEAR. STRULAK CLAIMED THAT THE NOV 22, 1973 WESTERN OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FOR THE WEST AND ALLEGED THAT SINCE THAT TIME, ALLIED REPS HAD SHOWN NO READINESS WHATEVER TO SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS. BEYOND THAT, THE ALLIES HAD ADOPTED A NEGATIVE POSTURE ON EVERY COMPROMISE PROPOSAL THE EAST HAD ADVANCED. US REP REPLIED THAT, TO THE CONTRARY, THE EAST HAD REMAINED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF ITS ORIGINAL PROPOSAL, WHILE THE WEST HAD SHOWN MARKED FLEXIBILITY. US REP STRESSED THAT THE WEST HAD, IN THE PRESENT ROUND, DEPARTED FROM ITS OPPOSITION IN PRINCIPLE TO COVERAGE OF AIR FORCES, AND HAD ADVANCED ITS PROPOSAL FOR NON-INCREASE IN AIR FORCE MANPOWER.

3. CZECHOSLOVAK REP (KLEIN) THEN PRESENTED ARGUMENTS FOR THE EASTERN FIRST STEP AND FREEZE PROPOSALS.

NETHERLANDS REP (DE VOS) PRESENTED COUNCIL GUIDANCE

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ON THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL, EXPRESSING SKEPTICISM REGARDING THE PROPOSAL, AS IT WOULD FREEZE THE PRESENT UNSATISFACTORY RELATIONSHIP OF GROUND FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, WOULD RESULT IN NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS AND WOULD BE UNWORKABLE DUE TO EASTERN REFUSAL TO PROVIDE FORCE LEVEL DATA. DE VOS ADDED THAT THE ALLIES WERE STILL STUDYING THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, HOWEVER, AND INVITED THE EAST TO GIVE A

CONSIDERED REACTION TO THESE WESTERN POINTS.

4. IN HIS RESPONSE, KHLESTOV SAID HE WAS GLAD THAT THE ALLIES WERE STUDYING THE FREEZE IDEA AND THAT THE NATURE OF THE WESTERN RESPONSE INDICATED THAT THEY HAD ACCEPTED THE CONCEPT OF A FREEZE AS A POSITIVE THING. KHLESTOV CONFIRMED THAT THE EAST ENVISAGED NATIONAL CEILINGS IN CONNECTION WITH THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, BUT STATED THAT NATIONAL CEILINGS WOULD NOT BE BURDENSOME BECAUSE NONE OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAD PLANS FOR INCREASE, AND BECAUSE THE FREEZE WOULD BE OF ONLY SHORT DURATION UNTIL REPLACED BY A REDUCTION AGREEMENT. KHLESTOV ASSERTED THAT SUCH NATIONAL CEILINGS WOULD NOT HAVE A PRECEDENT-SETTING CHARACTER, BECAUSE A JOINT NON-INCREASE DECLARATION COULD CONTAIN AN EXPLICIT PROVISION STATING THAT ITS CONTENT DID NOT PREJUDICE THE POSITION OF ANY SIDE REGARDING REDUCTIONS. AS TO DATA, KHLESTOV CLAIMED THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO HAVE AGREEMENT ON PRESENT FORCE LEVEL FIGURES IN ORDER TO HAVE A FREEZE AGREEMENT. SINCE PARTICIPANTS COULD BE TRUSTED TO MAINTAIN PRESENT LEVELS AND EACH SIDE HAD THE CAPABILITY ADEQUATELY TO CHECK ON COMPLIANCE.

5. UK REP PRESENTED WESTERN REASONS FOR OPPOSING NATIONAL CEILINGS. IN RETURN, EASTERN REPS CLAIMED THAT THE DESIRE OF THE WEST TO KEEP OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF SPECIALIZATION DID NOT INDICATE THE NEED FOR AN INCREASE IN NATIONAL FORCES AND WAS AN INADEQUATE RATIONALE FOR COLLECTIVE CEILINGS. NATIONAL CEILINGS ALSO AROSE FREQUENTLY THIS WEEK IN BILATERALS, WITH EASTERN REPS STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACHED TO THE SUBJECT. AT A LUNCHEON OF THE
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EC-9 COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN THE VIENNA TALKS, ALL BUT FRANCE, THE MAIN CONCLUSION WAS THE NEED TO AVOID NATIONAL CEILINGS.

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ACDE-00 ISO-00 AECE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 781

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INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0510

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

6. BOTH AT THE INFORMAL, AND IN THE FINAL PLEARY STATEMENT DELIVERED BY US REP, THE ALLIES REVIEWED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR POSITION IN THIS ROUND, EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AIR NO-INCREASE OFFER. AFTER A LENGTHY DISCUSSION, THE AD HOC GROUP DECIDED AGAINST INCLUSION OF THE NAC GUIDANCE ON THE EASTERN MANPOWER FREEZE OUT OF CONCERN THAT ITS REFERENCE TO FURTHER STUDY AND REQUEST FOR CONSIDERED EASTERN REACTION WOULD APPEAR TO BE A PROPOSAL FOR ACTUAL NEGOTIATION OVER A FREEZE. INSTEAD, THE US REP'S STATEMENT COMMENCED BY ASSERTING THAT "A BASIC NEW ISSUE" HAD EMERGED IN THE FOURTH ROUND -- I.E. WHETHER PARTICIPANTS SHOULD DIRECTLY PURSUE THEIR ORIGINAL AIM OF NEGOTIATING SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS OR WHETHER THEY SHOULD DEFER NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS OBJECTIVE AND
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INSTEAD SEEK "LIMITED INTERIM MEASURES." THE US STATEMENT MADE CLEAR THE WESTERN POSITION IN FAVOR OF NEGOTIATING ON "MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS."

7. US REP'S REFERENCE IN PLENARY TO THIS EMERGING "BASIC NEW ISSUE," IN TANDEM WITH THE LACK OF ANY

OTHER COMMENTS ON THE FREEZE, APPEARED TO PIQUE SOVIET REP KHESTOV SOMEWHAT. KHESTOV DEPARTED FROM HIS TEXT MID-WAY IN HIS LENGTHY PLENARY REVIEW OF THE FOURTH ROUND, TO ARGUE EXTEMPORANEOUSLY THAT EAST AS WELL AS WEST REMAINED TRUE TO THE GOAL OF SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS AND THAT THE EASTERN FIRST STEP AND FREEZE PROPOSALS WERE DESIGNED TO MOVE THE VIENNA TALKS AHEAD IN THE FACE OF ALLIED INFLEXIBILITY. HE COMPLAINED THAT US REP'S STATEMENT MIGHT GIVE "ERRONEOUS IMPRESSIONS" AND CRITICIZED THE STATEMENT FOR IMPLYING THAT NO FIRST STEP TYPE PROPOSAL COULD BE ACCEPTABLE. KHESTOV'S PLENARY PRESENTATION WAS OTHERWISE NEGATIVE, CONTRASTING THE REPEATED EASTERN INITIATIVES, SUCH AS THE FIRST STEP AND FREEZE PROPOSALS, WITH TOTAL WESTERN INFLEXIBILITY AND FAILURE TO TAKE EASTERN CONCERNS INTO ACCOUNT.

8. THE AD HOC GROUP WAS BUSY DURING THE LAST WEEK PREPARING THE FINAL PLENARY STATEMENT, A STATEMENT AND CONTINGENCY QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR THE DEC 12 ALLIED PRESS CONFERENCE AND THE END-OF-ROUND REPORT TO NAC. THOSE ACTIVITIES REVEALED THE CONTINUING DISAGREEMENT AMONG SEVERAL ALLIES CONCERNING THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL. THE GROUP DECIDED DEC 11, AFTER CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION, AGAINST INCLUDING NAC GUIDANCE ON THE FREEZE PROPOSAL IN THE FINAL PLENARY STATEMENT. BUT THIS DECISION WAS TAKEN ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT (A) THE DEC 12 PLENARY STATEMENT IS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED A FINAL WESTERN ANSWER TO THE FREEZE PROPOSAL; (B) A FORMAL WESTERN RESPONSE SHOULD BE MADE AT SOME POINT IN PLENARY ; AND (C) THE ALLIES ARE NOT NECESSARILY OBLIGED TO AWAIT CONSIDERED EASTERN REACTIONS, TO THE POINTS IN NAC GUIDANCE MADE AT THE DEC 10 INFORMAL, BEFORE MAKING A FORMAL REPLY IN PLENARY. IN ITS END-OF-ROUND REPORT TO NAC, THE
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AHG RECOMMENDED THAT THE COUNCIL COMPLETE STUDY OF THE FREEZE PROPOSAL, "TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EFFECTS ON THE ALLIED NEGOTIATING POSITION OF ANY FORM OF PRE-REDUCTION MANPOWER FREEZE, SO AS TO ENABLE ...A DEFINITE RESPONSE TO THE EAST EARLY IN THE NEXT ROUND." NEITHER THE FREEZE NOR ANY OTHER NOTABLE TOPIC CAME UP AT EITHER THE EASTERN OR WESTERN WRAP-UP PRESS CONFERENCES.

9. COMMENT. THERE WAS LITTLE OR NO SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS IN THE FOURTH ROUND OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. MOST ALLIED REPS ARE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT THE EAST TO SOME EXTENT HAD THE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE IN THIS ROUND, THAT

EASTERN CAPITALS WERE LIKELY TO LEAK THE FREEZE PROPOSAL
DURING THE RECESS AND THAT THE WEST WOULD BE
REQUIRED TO GIVE A DEFINITIVE ANSWER ON THE EASTERN
FREEZE PROPOSAL EARLY IN THE NEXT ROUND. END COMMENT.
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